

## ACTA SANCTORUM

Hagiography was clearly an important genre in Anglo-Saxon England. In the early period BEDE, ALDHELM, and ALCUIN, and later ÆLFRIC, devoted much of their energy and output to one or another form of hagiographical writing or study. A substantial part of the surviving corpus of Old English narrative poetry (including three of the poems of "Cynewulf") is likewise hagiographical, as is much of the anonymous Old English prose. Yet most of the scholarly analysis of the hagiographical compositions of Anglo-Saxon England has been produced in a kind of vacuum, without a thorough knowledge of the Latin hagiographical texts and contexts that Anglo-Saxons knew and by which they might be influenced. Although much valuable work has been done on individual works and authors, there is as yet no thorough treatment of Anglo-Saxon hagiographical *composition*, vernacular or Latin, or of the Anglo-Saxons' *reception* of the hagiographical texts produced on the Continent. The materials for such studies have not been readily available. It is only in recent years, for example, that the Latin manuscript legendaries of Anglo-Saxon provenance have begun to be studied with the attention they deserve. The *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* hopes to facilitate the more sophisticated study of hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England by presenting all the currently available information about the hagiographical texts—*vitae*, *passiones*, *miracula*—known to the Anglo-Saxons. We have not, however, attempted to incorporate most of the evidence as to *cults*, such as is to be gleaned from calendars, litanies, etc.

The entries below (one by Frederick M. Biggs, five by Hugh Magennis, and the rest by E. Gordon Whatley) are a representative sample of the 330 or so entries that will comprise the hagiography section of the final volume in which all the works of Latin hagiography known to the English up to 1100, listed alphabetically *by saint*, are to be treated. For the most part, these entries will deal with anonymous texts concerning both native English and foreign saints, the latter far outnumbering the former. In most cases also, the texts to be dealt with are those that were considered by the scribes as distinct works, as opposed to the lives, deaths, and miracles of

those saints who were known mainly through their inclusion in "collective biographies" such as GREGORY THE GREAT'S *DIALOGUES* or the *HISTORIA MONACHORUM* OF RUFINUS, which will be treated elsewhere in the final volume.

Works of hagiography by a known author will be listed under the saint's name here, but the proper entry for each work will appear as part of the main entry for the author. Occasionally, however, the author of a given hagiographical text may be known solely by that one work: in such cases the proper entry for the work will appear here in this section, not as an author entry. For example, Felix of Crowland, the eighth-century author of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*, will be listed in the alphabetical author sequence of the volume, but the reader will be referred to this section, under GUTHLAGUS, for the full entry (see below).

Specific hagiographical texts are identified not only by the saint's name and the genre of the work, but also, where possible, by the Bollandists' classification number, as listed in their standard reference guide to Latin hagiographical texts, the *BHL* (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* 2 vols [Brussels 1898–1901] with supplements in 1911 and 1986). The section also follows the conventions in the *BHL* for ordering works such as the "Seven Sleepers" (under "D" for DORMIENTES) and the *INVENTIO SANCTAE CRUCIS* (included under the general heading "Iesus Christus").

The sources of information from which the entries are being compiled are many and varied, but the chief are as follows: BEDE'S *MARTYROLOGY*; ALDHELM'S prose and verse *DE VIRGINITATE*; the Old English *Martyrology* [*Mart*, B19], especially in the light of source studies by J.E. Cross; ÆLFRIC'S *CATHOLIC HOMILIES* [*ÆCHom*] and *LIVES OF SAINTS* [*ÆLS*]; the anonymous Old English *Lives of Saints* [*LS*]; and several manuscripts containing Latin hagiographical texts, including most notably, the surviving eleventh-century copies of the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY (see LEGENDARIES): London, BL Cotton Nero E.i and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, and the closely related MSS, Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 and 222 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4 and 1). Patrick Zettel's unpublished Oxford thesis (1979) has been a valuable guide to these MSS. In his opinion they represent a legendary of late-ninth-century continental origin that was in widespread use in later Anglo-Saxon England, where it was introduced most likely at some point during the tenth century.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Dormientes (Septem)** passio [ANON.Pas.Dorm.sept.]: *BHL* 2316. See also GREGORY OF TOURS, *PASSIO SEPTEM DORMIENTIUM* (*BHL* 2313) and his *LIBER IN GLORIA MARTYRUM* (*BHL* 2314).

*MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.

2. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 222 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 1): HG 623.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* 1. *ÆCHom* II, 32 (B1.2.34) 183–231: see below.

2. *LS* 34 (B3.3.34).

*Quots/Cits* 1. *ÆCHom* I, 16 (B1.1.18): see below.

2. ? ANON.Vit.Aedward.conf.: see below.

*Refs* none.

BEDE and his contemporaries do not mention the legend of the Seven Sleepers, and evidence for Anglo-Saxon knowledge of specific versions comes from only late in the period. The legend was known, however, to some of the English community in late-eighth-century Germany. According to the English Huneberg's *Vita Willibaldi* (*MGH Scriptores* 15, part 1, 93.16), St Willibald and his brother visited the spot (near Ephesus) where the remains of the Seven Sleepers lay.

The two main versions of the story were known in the early medieval West, one by GREGORY OF TOURS (*BHL* 2313), the other anonymous (*BHL* 2316); see P. Huber (1910 pp 59–62). They are apparently independent of one another. The earliest MSS of *BHL* 2316, a Frankish translation from Greek according to Siegmund (1949 p 218), are ninth-century; see also P. Huber (1910 p 61) and Magennis (forthcoming in *Leeds Studies in English*). The two English MSS represent the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY.

The anonymous version has been shown (see Ott GR 5351) to be the source of the much-expanded Old English version, *LS* 34 (B3.3.34), surviving in two eleventh-century copies, one complete (London, BL Cotton Julius E.vii), the other fragmentary (London, BL Cotton Otho B.x). Although not written by ÆLFRIC, this version is generally regarded as roughly contemporary with his work. Among extant texts of *BHL* 2316, however, the closest to the Latin source of *LS* 34 is not the Cotton-Corpus recension, but that in the eleventh-century MS London, BL Egerton 2797, of continental provenance and closely related to a later text in London, BL Harley 3037; see P. Huber (1910 p 161), Whitelock (GR 6467), and Magennis (1985). For other MSS of importance for determining the source text of *LS* 34, see Magennis (forthcoming in *Leeds Studies in English*).

Despite the brevity of ÆLFRIC'S account of the Seven Sleepers in *ÆCHom* II, it clearly depends on *BHL* 2316, as P. Huber (1910 p 157) first showed. *BHL* 2316 was unknown to Förster (GR 5300), but it corresponds closely to the hypothetical source (containing elements of *BHL* 2313 and the Greek of Simeon Metaphrastes) that he posited (p 40). Zettel (1979 pp 192–94) suggests that the version of *BHL* 2316 ÆLFRIC used is that in the Cotton-

Corpus legendary, but various discrepancies suggest that his source was not identical with Cotton-Corpus, and further that he also drew on the *passio* written by Gregory of Tours, *BHL* 2313, which is not otherwise known to have been read in Anglo-Saxon England; see Magennis (forthcoming).

Ælfric also briefly mentions the Seven Sleepers, as an exemplum of the resurrection of the body, in a passage he added to *ÆCHom* I, 16 in the period 1002–05, but which is not printed by Thorpe; the passage would occur on p 236 between lines 22 and 23. It appears in six of the eleven extant MSS of the homily (see Gatch 1977 pp 86–87, and Magennis, forthcoming). Here, as in *ÆCHom* II, 32, Ælfric says the length of the sleep is 372 years, which suggests his dependence on a text of *BHL* 2316 different from that in the Cotton-Corpus legendary.

The *Vita Aedwardi regis* (*BHL* 2421), attributed by Barlow to Goscelin of Canterbury, contains Edward the Confessor's vision of the Sleepers' turning over onto their left sides (Barlow 1962 pp 66–71). The authoritative MS (HG 420), however, is deficient at this point and the vision has to be supplied from later revised versions. Barlow (1962 pp xxxix–xli) is suspicious of the episode, but concedes that in truncated form it may well have been in the original version of the life, composed, as many believe, as early as 1067. The details of the legend as presented in the *Vita Aedwardi* are not specific enough to indicate any particular source. Barlow (1962 p 68) sees the figure of 272 years as a harmonization of more than one tradition.

Hugh Magennis

**Eulalia Barcinone** *passio* [ANON.Pas.Eulal.Bar.]: *BHL* 2696; *CPL* 2069a; *DHGE* 15.1380–84. See also *EULALIA EMERITAE*.

*MSS* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10861: HG 898.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* Mart (B19.hi).

*Quots/Cits* BEDA.Mart. 221.1–5: see below.

*Refs* none.

Eulalia of Barcelona (feast day Feb. 12), purportedly martyred as a young girl under the prefect Dacian during the Diocletian persecution, is regarded by many (*BLS* 4.530) as a doublet of *EULALIA EMERITAE* (feast day Dec. 10). But the question is by no means settled, especially in Spain where Fábrega Grau argues that Eulalia of Barcelona's *passio* (*BHL* 2693) is a mid-seventh-century composition by Bishop Quirinus of Barcelona, based on oral tradition surrounding the saint's authentic local cult, and that it is entirely independent of the cult of Eulalia of Merida (see his summary

of his position, *DHGE* 15.1380–84). The Bollandist de Gaiffier (1959), along with other scholars outside Spain, does not accept Fábrega Grau's arguments. A more recent Spanish assessment by García Rodríguez (1966 pp 289–90) is unfavorable.

The earliest version known to the English, *BHL* 2696, used by BEDE in his *MARTYROLOGY* (see Quentin 1908 p 71), and represented in the Paris MS, relates the passion of Eulalia of Barcelona, but associates her with Dec. 10. According to Fábrega Grau, this version was composed in the early eighth century, outside Spain. The anonymous *passio* (*BHL* 2696) also lies behind the entry in the Old English *Martyrology* (Cross 1981a). ALDHELM's brief effusion in his prose *DE VIRGINITATE* 300.10–12, indicates only his awareness that she was a virgin martyr, but his source is undetermined, although a possibility is *PERISTEPHANON* III, which he uses elsewhere.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Eulalia Emeritae** *passio* [ANON.Pas.Eul.Emer.]: *BHL* 2700; *CPL* 2069b; *DHGE* 15.1384–85. See also *PRUDENTIUS*, *PERISTEPHANON*.

*MSS* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: HG 16.

*Lists—Refs* none.

The cult of Eulalia, virgin, martyred at Merida, Spain, for her defiant Christianity under Maximian in the early fourth century, is attested in the early fifth century by the poet *PRUDENTIUS* in *PERISTEPHANON* III (his hymn on her shrine and martyrdom). *BHL* 2700, according to Fábrega Grau (*DHGE* 15.1384), was composed in the late seventh century, drawing not only on *Prudentius* but also on a lost "texte primitif" which was itself *Prudentius'* source. This argument is not completely convincing, since there is no tangible evidence for the existence of the lost "acta." The *passio's* non-*Prudentian* features need not necessarily derive from a pre-*Prudentian* source. Fábrega Grau admits in the end (1385) that all we know for sure about Eulalia is in *Prudentius*.

Eulalia of Merida may have been known to ALDHELM (and possibly BEDE), who echoes *Prudentius' Peristephanon* III. The *passio* that most clearly squares with *Prudentius'* treatment of Eulalia, *BHL* 2700, was adopted by the later Anglo-Saxons in the eleventh-century COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY and its later affiliates, including the twelfth-century MSS Hereford, Cathedral Library P.7.vi, and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 354.

For further information on Eulalia, see Roger Collins (1980 pp 189–219) and García Rodríguez (1966 pp 284–89).

E. Gordon Whatley

**Euphrosyna** vita [ANON.Vit.Euphros.]: *BHL* 2723.

*MSS*—*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* *LS* 7 (B3.3.7).

*Quots/Cits*—*Refs* none.

Evidence so far adduced for Anglo-Saxon knowledge of this vita (translated into Latin in the eighth century; see Siegmund 1949 p 235) is confined to the existence of the Old English translation, *LS* 7, which occurs in London, BL Cotton Julius E.vii, and in fragmentary form in BL Cotton Otho B.x. The source of *LS* 7 was identified first by Loomis (GR 5358, pp 5–6); see also Magennis (1985 p 299). Loomis had assumed that the Old English text was ÆLFRIC's work. Although this is not the case (Magennis 1986 pp 342–47), the similarity of approach to the Latin source supports the generally accepted view that *LS* 7 is contemporary with Ælfric. Wenisch (1979 pp 57, and 291) finds in its vocabulary occasional traces of Anglian influence.

Further work remains to be done on the Latin vita, of which Rosweyde's edition is reprinted in *PL* 73.643–52, in addition to the *AS* (cited in the Bibliography Part I). The *AS* edition is based on several MSS and collated with Rosweyde's. Neither is satisfactory as a guide to the early medieval state of the text.

Hugh Magennis

**Eustachius** passio [ANON.Pas.Eust.]: *BHL* 2760.

*MSS* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: HG 16.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* *LS* 8 (B3.3.8).

*Quots/Cits*—*Refs* none.

The first mention of Eustachius in the West is considered to be that of John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus* (PG 94.1382), a work translated into Latin immediately after its composition in 726 (Heffernan 1973 p 65). A considerable number of Latin versions of the legend of Eustachius were produced from the ninth century, of which at least two were known in Anglo-Saxon England, one prose (*BHL* 2760), the other verse (*BHL* 2767; see next entry). *BHL* 2760 is a reworking of an older text, *BHL* 2761, believed by Siegmund (1949 p 236) to have been translated from the Greek of *BHG* 641, possibly in connection with the introduction of the cult of Eustachius into Rome under Pope Gregory II (715–33).

The date of the composition of *BHL* 2760 is unknown, but the earliest

extant MSS are from the tenth century (Monteverdi 1908–11 p 397), and the original may have been composed slightly earlier. It was incorporated into the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY and survives in the Corpus MS, of the mid-eleventh century; another copy is in the twelfth-century MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354 (Zettel 1979 p 28).

As first pointed out by Loomis (GR 5358, pp 4–5), *BHL* 2760 is the source of the Old English prose translation, *LS* 8, surviving in London, BL Cotton Julius E.vii, and, in fragments, in Cotton Vitellius D.xvii. Magennis (1985) shows that the Cotton-Corpus texts of *BHL* 2760 represent the Old English writer's source more closely than the printed editions used by Loomis. Although the Old English version is not ÆLFRIC's work (Magennis 1986 pp 336–42), as Loomis assumed, it is reasonable to date it in Ælfric's time. Examination of the vocabulary has led Wenisch (1979 pp 57, 258, 291, and *passim*) to suggest Anglian influence on its composition.

In addition to the edition in Mombritius (Bibliography Part I), the text also appears in the *AS* (Sept. 6.127–37).

Hugh Magennis

**Eustachius** passio metrica [ANON.pas.Eust.metr.]: *BHL* 2767; *ICL* 14237; *ICVL* 16700.

*MSS* none.

*Lists* 1. ? Æthelwold: ML 4.9.

2. Peterborough: ML 13.60.

*A-S Vers*—*Refs* none.

The "Passio Eustachii Placide uersifice," mentioned in a booklist thought to come from Peterborough around 1100 (ML 13.60), and probably identical to the "Vita Eustachii" donated to Peterborough by Bishop Æthelwold (ML 4.9), must be, according to Lapidge, the hexameter poem, *BHL* 2767. See also Monteverdi (1908–11 p 407). According to Lapidge, "on the evidence of the Æthelwold donation, the poem must have been in existence by the late tenth century, and its style marks it as a Carolingian product."

Hugh Magennis

**Felix II** passio [ANON.Pas.Fel.II]: *BHL* 2857.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.

2. London, BL Harley 3020: HG 433.

3. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 222 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 1): HG 623.

*Lists—Refs* none.

Pope Felix II (feast day, July 29), actually an Arian anti-pope under the emperor Constantius, was confused in the *Liber pontificalis* with Pope Liberius, and thereafter honored as a martyr for the cause of orthodox Christianity; see Duchesne (1955 vol 1 pp ccxxiv-xxv, and 211) and *BLS* 3.206-07. Cotton Nero E.i and the Salisbury MS are both witnesses of the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY (see Zettel 1979 p 23).

E. Gordon Whatley

**Felix Nolanus presbyter.** See BEDE and PAULINUS OF NOLA.

The prose and verse lives of Felix of Nola are treated under BEDE and PAULINUS OF NOLA, but his confusing relationship with another Felix (of Rome) requires some comment here.

The earliest literary records concerning this saint of Campania are several poems (*BHL* 2870) by Paulinus of Nola, who adopted Felix as his patron on retiring from public life to Nola in 394 (P. Brown 1981 pp 53-60). Among the score of Felixes in the Roman calendar, two share the feast day Jan. 14: Felix "priest of Nola," and Felix "priest of Rome" ("in Pincis"), martyr (*BHL* 2885). It is generally accepted that Felix of Nola is the authentic original of the two Jan. 14 saints, and that the church "in Pincis" was originally a locus of Roman devotion to the Campanian saint (for the later, spurious Felix of Rome, see below).

Paulinus' poems on Felix of Nola were well known in early Anglo-Saxon England, and are quoted and echoed many times by ALDHELM, BEDE, and ALCUIN. In addition, Bede wrote a prose epitome (*BHL* 2873) of the poems, which he knew to be Paulinus' work (see PAULINUS OF NOLA). But Paulinus' patron was gradually forgotten by later Anglo-Saxons. According to Cross (1985a p 241 note 73), the ninth-century Old English martyrologist, in his entry for Felix, drew on both Bede's MARTYROLOGY and life of Felix, but the vernacular writer already shows the influence of the confusing development of Felix's cult in Rome, since he identifies Felix as "priest of Rome, in the place called Pincis," bypassing Bede's "in Campania." This suggests that the Old English *Martyrology* entry may depend on a calendar or liturgical book, as well as on Bede.

In the later Anglo-Saxon period, the Paulinus-Bede traditions concerning Felix are displaced by the Roman tradition represented in *BHL* 2885.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Felix Romanus presbyter** vita [ANON.Vit.Fel.Rom.]: *BHL* 2885; *CPL* 2189; *BSS* 5.535, 552; *DHGE* 6.909.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.

2. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4): HG 625.

*Lists—Refs* none.

Reputed brother of another Felix of Rome (feast day Aug. 30, *BHL* 2878-84), Felix "in Pincis" is believed to be a doublet of Felix of Nola, in whose honor the church on the Pincio was originally built (Delehaye 1897 p 23). *BHL* 2885 was probably composed in the seventh century (or sixth: see *CPL* 2189) by the same author as the passio of Felix and Adauctus (*BHL* 2878). Apparently, the work was not known to BEDE. The entry for Jan. 14 in the ninth-century Old English *Martyrology* (B19.y) speaks of a Felix, "priest of Rome, in the place called Pincis," but the remainder of the brief narrative is drawn word for word from Bede's writings on Felix of Nola (Cross 1985a). *BHL* 2885, therefore, would not appear to have been known to the early Anglo-Saxons.

The mid- and late-eleventh-century English *MSS* listed above, both examples of the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY (see Zettel 1979 p 16), have not been collated with the printed edition. The *BHL* mistakenly entitles Felix's vita as a passio.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Felix Tubzacensis** passio [ANON.Pas.Fel.Tub.]: *BHL* 2894 and 2895b; see also *CPL* 2054.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.

2. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4): HG 625.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10861: HG 898.

*Lists—A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* 1. ALDH.Pros.uirg. 264.13-14: see below.

2. BEDA.Mart. 160.9-17: see below.

3. *Mart* (B19.gj): see below.

*Refs* none.

Bishop Felix of Thibiuca, near Carthage, apparently suffered martyrdom in the North African city early in the Diocletian persecution (303), for refusing to hand over the Christians' sacred books to the local magistrate. The passio survives in several recensions (see Delehaye 1921), two of which were

known in Anglo-Saxon England. One, in which the martyrdom takes place in Nola (*BHL* 2894, designated by Delehaye 1921 as N), appears in the London and Salisbury MSS of the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY (see Zettel 1979 p 16). The other, which moves the martyrdom to Venosa in Apulia (*BHL* 2895, designated by Delehaye 1921 as V), occurs in the Paris MS; see M. Brown (1987 p 122); Quentin (1908 pp 526–27), who edits the text; and Delehaye (1921 pp 247–52), who collates it. It is this second recension that underlies the use by ALDHELM (probably), BEDE (see Quentin 1908 p 74), and the ninth-century Old English *Martyrology* (Kotzor 1981 vol 2 p 343, note).

Although Felix's original feast day was probably July 15 or 16, it was early transferred to Aug. 30, probably owing to confusion with the feast of the martyrs Felix and Adauctus (*BHL* 2878), and later to Oct. 24, its present position in the calendar. The Cotton-Corpus legendary assigns the text to a January date, immediately after FELIX ROMANUS, in apparent confusion with FELIX NOLANUS.

BL Cotton Nero E.i contains another copy of the N type, although in the later (twelfth-century) portion of the MS, not in the Cotton-Corpus legendary proper; Delehaye (1921 p 246) mentions but does not collate it. It is also necessary to note that Delehaye (1921) has chosen London, BL Add. 11880 as his base text for N, and that his alternate readings are apparently from the edition of Baluzius (1678–1715 vol 1 pp 77–81). Bishop Fell (1680), as an appendix to his edition of Lactantius' *De morte persecutorum*, prints the text of Baluzius, but provides readings from the Salisbury MS.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Guthlacus** vita [FELIX.Vit.Guth.]: *BHL* 3723; *CPL* 2150; *DHGE* 22.1214–18.

- MSS* 1. Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 1029: HG 781.  
 2. Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale 106: HG 804.  
 3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 307: HG 88.  
 4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 389: HG 103.  
 5. Dublin, Trinity College 174: HG 215.  
 6. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.  
 7. London, BL Royal 4.A.xiv: HG 456.  
 8. London, BL Royal 13.A.xv: HG 484.

- Lists* 1. Saewold: ML 8.19.  
 2. Peterborough: ML 13.16.

*A-S Vers* 1. ? *GuthA* (A3.2).

2. *GuthB* (A3.2).

3. *LS* 10 (B3.3.10).

*Quots/Cits* ? *Mart* (B19.bv): see below.

*Refs* none.

Although his death seems to have occurred in 714 (feast day April 11), Guthlac, the hermit of the Fens, is not mentioned by BEDE, and the Latin life by the monk Felix is dated by Colgrave to 730–49, that is after the completion of Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Felix's life of Guthlac, while written in the ornate Insular style, is heavily indebted for its content and structure to Bede's prose VITA CUTHBERTI and to the early classics of monastic hagiography such as EVAGRIUS' VITA ANTONII and SULPICIUS' VITA MARTINI; see Kurtz (GR 3804) and Colgrave (1958).

Guthlac was widely venerated in Anglo-Saxon England and his popularity is reflected in the number of extant pre-Conquest copies of the life, and related vernacular texts. A late-eighth- or early-ninth-century fragment of Felix's life survives as the fly leaves of a tenth-century MS Royal 4.A.xiv, and the complete copy in the Corpus MS 307, of unknown provenance, is dated to the ninth century. The other Latin MSS listed above are of the tenth and eleventh centuries; for descriptions of these and other MSS and for their affiliation, see Colgrave (1956 pp 26–51). Lapidge identifies the item in the Saewold list (ML 8.19) as Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 1029 (HG 781); and he suggests that the item in the Peterborough list (ML 13.16) may be London, BL Harley 3097.

Guthlac's continuing importance in the period is reflected in vernacular versions in both prose and verse. According to Kotzor (1981 vol 2 p 301), the entry on Guthlac in the ninth-century Old English *Martyrology* appears to draw mainly on Felix's life (the short account of Guthlac's sister, Pega, in *Mart* [B19.s] draws on Felix's chapter 53), although J. Roberts (GR 3811, pp 203–04) thinks it more likely that the martyrologist's immediate source for these entries was liturgical. The anonymous homiletic version, *LS* 10, a vernacular prose translation of Felix's life in a late West Saxon MS (London, BL Cotton Vespasian D.xxi, formerly part of Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 509; NRK 344), was probably composed in the ninth or early tenth century in Mercia (J. Roberts 1986). A portion of the translation (corresponding to Felix's chapters 28–32, concerning Guthlac and the demons), but independent of the Vespasian text or its immediate exemplar, appears in the VERCELLI BOOK (Homily 23; see ANONYMOUS OLD ENGLISH HOMILIES under HOMILIARIES). Bolton (GR 6454) points to Corpus 389 or Cotton Nero E.i. (or a similar text of Colgrave's group IV type) as the Latin source text of *LS* 10. The Old English glosses in these MSS, however, are apparently not related to the Old English prose translation.

Two vernacular poems, *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*, dealing respectively with the saint's encounters with demons in his fenland retreat and with his death, survive in the *Exeter Book*. *Guthlac B* is widely accepted as a rendering of chapter 50 of Felix's life (J. Roberts 1979 pp 36–43), but while *Guthlac A* corresponds in some respects to the subject matter of Felix's chapters 28–32 (e.g. in both works Guthlac is taken to the gates of hell by demons), the few verbal correspondences formally adduced to indicate the poet's dependence on the Latin are not decisive. The ending of *Vercelli Homily* 23 (which departs from Felix), later iconographic evidence, and *Guthlac A* suggest the existence of some lost literary sources concerning Guthlac's visionary experiences or a flourishing oral tradition, or both (J. Roberts 1979 pp 19–29; also 1988). The dating and provenance of both poems are uncertain, but they are probably no later than the late ninth century; *Guthlac A* may be older than *Guthlac B*; see J. Roberts (1979 pp 70–71). See also J. Roberts (1967) for an edition of both the vernacular prose and poetic versions.

E. Gordon Whatley

**Inventio sanctae crucis** [ANON.Invent.cru.]: *BHL* 4169.

- MSS* 1. Cambridge, Pembroke College 24: HG 131.  
 2. Cambridge, Trinity College O.10.31: HG 200.  
 3. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4): HG 625.  
 4. ? Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 129 (*SC* 1575).  
 5. ? Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 22053.  
 6. ? Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2769: *CLA* 5.550.  
 7. ? Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5574.  
 8. ? St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 225: *CLA* 7.928.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* 1. *El* (A2.6).

2. *LS* 6 (B3.3.6).

*Quots/Cits* ? *Mart* (B19.ck): see below.

*Refs* none.

The *Inventio*, which recounts the discovery of the cross by Helena, is neither a vita nor a passio, which may account for its preservation in MSS that are not primarily hagiographic. Coxe's Catalogue (1858–85, fasc 2, col 129) describes Laud Misc. 129 as "ix, literis Anglo-Saxonicis exaratus." Lowe states that BN lat. 2769 "by the 8th century . . . may have migrated . . . to a center under Anglo-Saxon influence." Citing Levison (GR 512A), who discusses the general indebtedness of Continental libraries to the Anglo-

Saxons, but who does not mention specific manuscripts, Gradon (GR 3563) comments that the St Gall MS "could have derived from an English original" (p 19 note 3); Lowe notes insular abbreviations for *autem* and *est* in this MS. The Munich MS may have been copied from an Anglo-Saxon original, especially in light of the use of runic symbols for "ga" and "enti"; see Waldman (1975 pp 1–2). Avril (1987 p 11) notes that BN lat. 5574 was in England at the beginning of the tenth century.

The Old English *Elene* and the anonymous homily *LS* 6 both use this text, and the details in the Old English *Martyrology* (B19.ck) could also have been drawn from it. The *Inventio* is also cited as a possible source for two passages in the *Dream of the Rood* (*Dream*, A2.5): the vision of the cross in the sky (4–7), and the discovery of the cross (76–78). On the first passage, see in particular Patch (GR 3501), who points out that the wording is somewhat closer to the Latin than to the Old English version in *Elene*, but who also concludes in part, "the episode in the *Dream* may possibly be based on one having nothing to do with the story of the *Inventio*" (p 237).

The liturgical celebration of the Invention of the Cross on May 3—the date to which *BHL* 4169 is firmly tied in the text—was originally Roman (established by the sixth century), and was introduced into Gaul in the eighth century (see Chavasse 1958 pp 350–57). Willibrord's calendar (edited by Wilson 1918) assigns the feast to May 7, suggesting that the new date had not reached Gaul in his time, and BEDE does not mention the feast, implying that it reached England after the mid eighth century. The *Pontifical of Egbert* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10575; edited by Greenwell 1853) contains a benediction for the *Inventio* on May 3, but Gneuss (1985 p 132) notes that "the attribution to Egbert is unfounded." Thus *Elene* and the *Dream* may represent some of the earliest evidence for the legend in England.

For bibliography on *Elene*, see GR 3558–3600; on *LS* 6, see Bodden (1987); and on the *Dream*, see GR 3482–3600. For a general discussion of cross lore in Anglo-Saxon England, see Stevens (GR 621) and for more information on the Irish material, see McNamara (1975 pp 78–79).

Frederick M. Biggs

**Juliana** passio [ANON.Pas.Julianae]: *BHL* 4522/4523; *CPL* 2201.

- MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.  
 2. London, BL Harley 3020: HG 433.  
 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10861: HG 898.  
 4. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4): HG 625.



5. ? Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5574.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* *Jul* (A3.5).

*Quots/Cits* BEDA.Mart. 35.7-17: see below.

*Refs* none.

The earliest Latin account (*BHL* 4522-3) of the virgin martyr Juliana of Nicomedia is believed to be the original form of the legend, despite the saint's purported Eastern origin (see Siegmund 1949 p 197; and Geith 1965 p 27) and was probably composed in Italy before the putative translation of the saint's relics from Pozzuoli to Cumae in the mid sixth century (see Woolf, GR 3880, p 11). The latest opinion of the Bollandists, on the evidence of the early martyrologies, is that Juliana was originally a local Cumae martyr whose cult became general in the Naples area before spreading elsewhere, and whose martyrdom in Nicomedia is (along with the whole legend) a fabrication (see *AS* Nov. vol 2 part 2 pp 301-02).

Geith (1965) regards England in the late-seventh- to the early-eighth-century as an early locus of devotion to Juliana. As evidence he points to BEDE's use of the passio in his *MARTYROLOGY*, the eighth-century English recension of the Hieronymian martyrology (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10837 — the Epternach MS), and Neapolitan influence through Abbot Hadrian of Canterbury. He also argues that two of the three main families of MSS of the passio originated in England (note that Geith's classification of MSS does not retain the Bollandists' distinctions between *BHL* 4522 and 4523).

Four MSS now known to be of English provenance contain copies of the passio. BN 10861 was almost certainly written at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the early ninth century (M. Brown 1987), and belongs to Geith's Würzburg family of MSS, which he links with the Anglo-Saxon mission to Germany. Harley 3020, however, is a member of Geith's Corbie family, most of the members of which he associates with Anglo-Saxon influence on the monastery at Corbie founded by the princess Bathilda. Geith was unaware that the Paris and Harley MSS are actually of English provenance, as pointed out by Price (1986) in her recent study of the Middle English *Liflade*. None of these scholars, however, seems to have been aware of the copies in the mid-eleventh-century Worcester legendary, Cotton Nero E.i, and the somewhat later Salisbury legendary, Salisbury 221, which have not been classified (Zettel 1979 p 18, simply lists them as examples of *BHL* 4522; both MSS represent the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY). Avril (1987 p 11) notes that BN lat. 5574 was in England at the beginning of the tenth century.

The lack of an entry for Juliana in the Old English *Martyrology* (ninth century) is doubtless due to the loss of most of the February saints.

There is as yet no modern critical edition of the passio: those of Brunöhler (GR 3889), d'Ardenne (1961), and Mombricitus (1910), which reproduce specific MSS, are to be preferred to the contaminated text in *AS* Feb. 2.875-78 (see Geith 1965 24-25). Studies of the surviving early medieval MSS, e.g. those of Brunöhler (GR 3889), and Geith, have been done mainly with the German tradition in mind. That of Geith is the most useful and thorough, but not definitive. English source studies of Cynewulf's *Juliana* and the Middle English *Liflade* have tended to rely on the *AS* text, and it is used by Allen and Calder (1976 pp 121-32) for their translation. Despite Geith's opinion that Cynewulf's source was closely related to BN lat. 10861, a detailed study of the Old English poem in relation to this and other extant English copies of the *Passio Julianae* remains to be undertaken.

For other, earlier studies dealing with the passio in relation to the Old English or other vernacular versions, see GR 3879, 3884, 3886, 3887. For a useful review of Geith's dissertation (1965), see Berschin (1978).

E. Gordon Whatley

**Maria Aegyptiaca** vita [PAUL.DIAC.NEAP.Vit.Maria.Aeg.]: *BHL* 5415.

*MSS* 1. London, BL Cotton Claudius A.i: HG 312.

2. London, BL Cotton Nero E.i: HG 344.

3. Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 (olim Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4): HG 625.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* *LS* 23 (B.33.23).

*Quots/Cits* — *Refs* none.

This text, which was translated from the Greek by Paulus Diaconus "Neapolitanus" in the ninth century (Siegmund 1949 p 269; Kunze 1969 pp 26-28), was known in England in the late Anglo-Saxon period, although it is uncertain when it was first introduced. Of the MSS listed above, Cotton Claudius A.i has been dated mid tenth century, but was written on the Continent. The other two MSS (from Worcester and Salisbury) are copies of the COTTON-CORPUS LEGENDARY, which was known in England by the late tenth century, if not earlier.

The Old English homiletic version, *LS* 23, is a fairly literal translation of *BHL* 5415. Comparative study of the Old English and Latin versions reveals that the translator must have worked from a text very like that in the Cotton-Corpus group, which is also close to Cotton Claudius A.i. *LS* 23 shares with these Latin MSS many features that contrast with what we find in the printed editions; see Magennis (1985 pp 294-97). Chase (1986)



argues that despite its close dependence on a Latin source *LS* 23 is nonetheless a distinctive literary document controlled, like other versions of the life, by the presuppositions of the age in which it was written.

The Old English translation is preserved in London, BL Cotton Julius E.vii (NRK 162) a MS containing ÆLFRIC'S LIVES OF SAINTS, and there are also fragments in two other MSS of the first half of the eleventh century (NRK 117A and 177). Although not written by Ælfric himself (see Magennis 1986 pp 332–36), *LS* 23 has generally been regarded as coming from the same period. Elements of its vocabulary, however, have been seen as suggesting an Anglian original (Wenisch 1979 pp 56, 257–58, 291, and *passim*).

Hugh Magennis

**ADO OF VIENNE:** *LTk* 1.150–51; *NCE* 1.133–134.

**De sex aetatibus mundi** [ADOVIENN.Sex.aet.mundi].

*MSS* 1. London, British Library, Royal 13.A.xxiii: HG 486.

2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 290: HG 84.

*Lists—Refs* none.

This ninth-century Archbishop of Vienne used the earlier history of BEDE as one of his sources, but his own reciprocal influence on Anglo-Saxon writers appears to have been modest. Both MSS owned in England date from no earlier than the mid eleventh century. The Cambridge text is “in all respects” like the London, including a faulty title: “*incipit cronica Odonis abbatis*.”

Daniel Nodds

**ÆLFRIC OF EYNESHAM** (c. 950–1010).

Ælfric's numerous writings, in English and in Latin, were extensively copied and circulated in his own time and throughout the next two centuries. His immediate impact is evident from the prefaces and rubrics to individual works. His first major work, the CATHOLIC HOMILIES, was addressed to Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, and apparently encouraged by him.

Other works were commissioned by Wulfsgie, Bishop of Sherborne; Ealdorman Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær; WULFSTAN, Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester; and Æthelwold II, Bishop of Winchester. Others are addressed to Cenwulf, Bishop of Winchester; to several individual laymen, Sigefyrth, Sigeward, and Wulfgeat; and to the monks of Ælfric's own abbey, Eynsham. His writings were used as sources by his contemporaries Wulfstan of York, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey, and by a host of anonymous writers; in particular, his homiletic works were plundered for telling passages and phrases by subsequent writers of vernacular sermons. Yet the only external references to him as a writer are a colophon in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 (written in the first quarter of the eleventh century, and at Worcester later in the century) explaining that the homilies in that MS have been taken from the books which “Ælfricus abbas” translated (NRK 62), and a rubric in Oxford, St John's College, 154 (written at the beginning of the eleventh century, and at Durham in the thirteenth century) by ÆLFRIC BATA assigning the COLLOQUY which follows to “Ælfricus abbas who was my teacher” (NRK 436).

For the canon and chronology of Ælfric's works, see Clemoes (GR 5397, pp 136–50). Recent surveys of his work include Hurt (GR 5215), and Greenfield and Calder (1986 pp 68–88). A study of his influence on Anglo-Saxon writers is by Godden (1978 pp 99–117).

[For this *Trial Version*, only the homilies are included.]

**Catholic Homilies** (*ÆCHom* I and II; B1.1.1–41, and B1.2.1–50).

*MSS* see below.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* see below.

*Quots/Cits—Refs* none.

There is one surviving MS of the whole collection, Cambridge University Library Gg.3.28, dating from Ælfric's lifetime and possibly produced in his own scriptorium. London, BL Royal 7.C.xii (a facsimile is by Eliason and Clemoes, GR 153) contains the First Series only, with annotations in Ælfric's own hand, and there are two other copies of the First Series from the early eleventh century (London, BL Cotton Vitellius C.v, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188). Some 30 other MSS containing selections or fragments, ranging in date from the end of the tenth century to the early thirteenth century, are listed in NRK pp 511–15, apart from one edited by Fausbøll (1986). Ælfric composed the two Series of *Catholic Homilies* at Cerne Abbas, but sent copies immediately to Archbishop Sigeric at Canterbury, and it was probably from there that they were mainly disseminated. Christ Church Canterbury, Rochester, the New Minster at